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AMERICAN NEGROES  
A HANDBOOK



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EDWIN R. EMBREE

THE JOHN DAY COMPANY  
NEW YORK

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AMERICAN NEGROES  
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## WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA is a rainbow: a blending of many colors and creeds and cultures; a promise that diverse peoples may live together happily and successfully with personal liberty and national solidarity. Some of us think of America as "owned" by a single racial stock or cultural group. Far from it, America is the home of all the many very different races and peoples who came here seeking freedom and opportunity and stayed here to build a great democracy.

A hardy, colorful race of Indians had lived on this continent for thousands of years before any of the present peoples came. While the early relations between European settlers and native Indians were turbulent and bloody, Indians have contributed one of the brightest strands in the American tradition. Vain moderns should remember that the only 100 per cent Americans are red men who were building happy and satisfying lives on this continent when the ancestors of many of us were crude nomads roaming the forests of Britain and Gaul.

During the past four hundred years the native Indians have been outnumbered and almost submerged by the great streams of people who have poured in from every land, having in common only their zest for freedom, their search for fresh opportunities. Spanish conquerors and priests, French and Dutch traders, and the great tides of English colonists were followed by people from every country of Europe: Irish, Germans, Italians, Scandinavians, Russians, Poles, Czechs, Serbs, Greeks,

Turks, Jews; and smaller numbers from the Orient: Chinese, Japanese, Malays, and men from the islands of the Pacific. All these are America.

One group, the African Negroes, came, not of their own will, but as slaves. Although slavery was a common practice at that time, it was strange to find it among the freedom-loving peoples of the New World. It bothered the founding fathers as they were declaring their independence from the Old World and the old dogmas on the principle that "all men are created free and equal." It continued to bother the new nation until, after violent disputes and a furious civil war, all men in America were declared free.

But no edict could in itself create a race of independent people. Nor could a decree change overnight traditions and attitudes of long standing. The essential marks of free men have had to be won slowly and painfully by the Negroes themselves: self-reliance, education, health, economic security, the respect of their neighbors. To an astonishing degree Negroes have won their independence in these essentials during the three short generations since emancipation.

This booklet gives in briefest outline the story of one of the new races that has grown up in this New World, the brown Americans. It pictures their struggles and their place today in various phases of American life. It tells some of the woes and the victories, some of the wails and the songs of this sector of the American rainbow, who chant in the words of Langston Hughes:

*I, too, sing America  
I am the darker brother  
I, too, am America.*

## A NEW RACE, THE BROWN AMERICANS

A NEW RACE is growing up in America. Its skin is brown. It has in its veins the blood of the three principal branches of man—black, white, yellow-brown. The new race numbers thirteen million in the United States and many more millions in the West Indies and in Central and South America. It is a fresh biological mixture. In its culture it is also new, having been almost entirely cut off from the ancient African home and yet having developed somewhat differently from the white American pattern.

Black forefathers of the new race were among the first settlers of the New World. In 1619, according to John Smith's *Generale Historie*, there arrived in Jamestown "a Dutch man of warre, that sold us twenty Negars." So, just twelve years after the establishment in Virginia of the first permanent British colony in America and a few months before the Mayflower landed the Pilgrims at Plymouth, the beginnings of the new race were made.

These twenty Negars were followed by ever-increasing shipments from Africa over a period of two centuries. Into the American colonies they were brought for labor on the crops raised in these virgin territories: tobacco, rice, indigo, sugar, cotton. The wealth of the New World came largely by the sweat of this new race.

The slaves were not a single people. They came from tribes as different as the several nations of Europe. They were captured from provinces covering large parts of Central and Western Africa. Among them were Moors from the northerly coasts, the small yellow Hottentots from the south, Bantu tribesmen from the equatorial regions, the peoples of the Cameroons, the Congo, and the vast stretches of the Niger Valley, the large blacks from the region about the Gold Coast. The great commerce in slaves ranged over four thousand miles of African coast, from the Senegal River on the north to the southern limits of Angola, and reached hundreds of miles inland.

Contrary to popular belief, many of the African tribes were far above barbarism. Settled farming, exchange of goods and the use of money, organized governments, elaborate religious forms, beautiful arts and crafts were common over the wide area of Guinea, from which most of the slaves came. Their customs were very different from ours, and they lacked the science and mechanics which Europe was beginning to develop. But few of them were the crude savages we tend to picture in our minds.

Members of the different tribes were completely mixed in their distribution in the New World. They were first mingled in the African slave ports. Shipped to the transfer stations of the West Indies, they were further mixed and transhipped to various parts of America, including the region which is now the United States. Finally, on reaching the mainland, they were distributed through American slave marts and sold to all parts of the country. Members of tribes which in

Africa would not have met for centuries were thrown together on the large plantations or as fellow slaves in the smaller households. Even if there had been no mixture of white or Indian blood, the Negroes who grew up in America would have been different from any single tribe in Africa—a mingling of all of them into a new race.

But, in addition to the fusing of many African strains, white and Indian blood at once began to pour into the newly forming race. Masters freely had children by their slave girls. This has been common wherever slavery has existed. The mixture of Indian blood was less than that of white. But in the early years of the colonies unions between Indians and blacks were frequent, and there was much living together without the formality of marriage.

There is no way of knowing accurately the amount of mingling of African, Indian, and white bloods. During slave days no records were kept; the white fathers did not want to reveal their relationship to slave children; the black women were helpless. The Federal Census in the early decades made an effort to get figures of mixed parentage, but since 1910 it has simply listed all persons reporting any African blood as Negroes. Careful students of race place the estimate of mixed blood very high. Melville J. Herskovits from his extensive studies believes that not over 20 per cent of people classed as Negroes in the United States are of purely African parentage.

The greatest amount of interbreeding occurred a century ago. And it is fair to remember that in this mixture of bloods the white man has been the great aggressor.



Since emancipation, sentiment among both whites and blacks has been against it. For half a century Negroes have been breeding chiefly within their own ranks. Even if there is no more infusion of white blood, a few more generations of mingling among the Negroes themselves will bring about so general a distribution of strains that it is likely that every Negro in America will have some white ancestry and most of them some Indian blood.

Interestingly enough, recent studies show that, in spite of this extensive mixture, the American Negroes are forming a group astonishingly uniform in its physical character. Students of man have a number of traits by which they measure physical differences and classify races: body height relative to length of leg; length and width of head; skin color; width of nostrils; thickness of lips—some two dozen or more factors. Studies and measurements of sample Negro groups in various parts of the country show that the American Negroes today are as uniform as any typical race of mixed ancestry such, for instance, as the Japanese or the English.

Culturally also this emerging race is new. Torn from their own social settings, Africans found themselves mixed with fellow blacks from other tribes whose customs differed widely, whose languages they could not understand. A new life had to be formed in the pattern of the New World. The old African tribal society was destroyed. Negroes were forced into the order required by the plantation and by the demands of the particular American families with whom they lived.

The only customs that had elements in common for

all the slaves were those they found about them in America. The Africans began to take hold of life where they could. They began to speak English, to take up the Christian religion, to fall into the labor pattern demanded by American needs, to fit themselves as best they could into all the ways of the New World.

During these early years the Negroes had to make tremendous changes in all their habits. They had to adapt themselves to a new continent and a new climate. From the colorful life of African plains and jungles, they had to take up the drudgery of plantation farming and domestic service. Accustomed to tribal dialects, they had to learn a new and very different language. From their belief in various good and evil spirits, they ran head on into a strange new religion with very different values, with extensive buildings and property and an established class of priests and clergy.

The Negro has been almost completely cut off from his African home. There are scarcely half a hundred words in any of the American Negro dialects that are directly traceable to African roots—such words, for example, as goober, voodoo, banjo, yam. Even the Negro's superstitions are a mixture of old and new. "Hants" or ghosts are as common among the primitive whites in America as they are among the Negroes. The "cunjur" or curse placed upon an enemy was as common among American Indians as among Africans. The music also is characteristic of the new race rather than of Africa. It is true that a typical African rhythm is said to run through the spirituals and jazz and swing, but it is very hard to differentiate this from other primitive rhythms. The melody of the spirituals is often adapted

from old hymns and English ballads current in the South, just as the verses are in the new language and woven about the concepts of the new religion.

The Negro was quickly forced into the habits of the new civilization. But he did not take them on without changing the forms he found. He was driven into the tobacco and sugar and cotton fields, and he and his labor in turn have fixed the farm pattern of the South. He gave his impress to the English language, so that today one of the proud possessions of the Virginia lady is her Negroid southern drawl. He has strongly colored the music and the rhythms of the New World.

He threw himself eagerly into the Christian religion, which lent itself readily to slave needs. Overlooking the fact that the central teaching of Christianity—brotherly love—was preached by a people actively engaged in enslaving their fellow men, the slaves found peace and joy in the Christian ideal of humility, the giving up of worldly goods, and the hope of a blessed life in another world after faith and suffering on earth. There was comfort also in the graphic accounts in the Old Testament of the trials of the children of Israel, especially their escape from the bondage of Egypt, which gave Negroes hope for their own freedom in America. To this religion, often reduced by the white man to a set of moral rules, the Negro brought the fervor of his need for emotional release. To it he made at least one great contribution—the spirituals.

The general history of this new race has two peculiarities. First, it has been formed in a very short time—about a century—as contrasted with the thousand or more years

that went into the making of the Japanese or Germans and the millenniums that were required to develop such groups as the Egyptians, Jews, or Chinese. Second, instead of developing from savagery into its own slowly discovered arts and industries, this race has grown up in immediate contact with a highly developed civilization—western industrialism. Negroes from primitive Africa were placed in the midst of a people who were perfecting the highest forms of material culture: science, mechanical invention, hygiene, modern schools, rapid communications, world trade. Along with the benefits of this close association with a high civilization have gone great handicaps. The Negroes were first slaves and even now are subject to peculiar discriminations. They have been enabled by their new environment to learn quickly many new and complex ways of life, but they have also been forced to occupy only certain places in the building of western industrialism.

With these advantages and these handicaps, a pilgrimage up the rough road of modern civilization, which took the European peoples thousands of years, has been accomplished, at least in part, by this new race in a single century.

## LIVING IN THE NEW WORLD

BROUGHT FROM MANY parts of the great continent of Africa, Negroes have been distributed all over the New World. In the region now known as the United States the masses have gone wherever labor called. In the early years the great slave crop was tobacco, and the concentration was in Virginia, where in 1790 there were 292,627 slaves, two fifths of the total number in the nation. With the growth of sugar in Louisiana and of cotton in the far southern states, the bondsmen moved south and west. Just before the Civil War Georgia's slave population began to rival Virginia's, which had grown to nearly one-half million, while Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina each had more than 400,000 and every state of the Old South had at least 200,000.

The general history of Negro population in the United States is: (a) steady diffusion, first to all the states of the South and more recently to all sections of the nation; and (b) steady decrease in proportion to the total population. In 1790, at the time of the first Federal Census, Negroes made up almost 20 per cent of all the people of the United States; at the last Census, in 1940, although Negroes had increased steadily and rapidly in their own numbers, they were less than 10 per cent of the total population.

TABLE I  
NEGRO POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL  
POPULATION, UNITED STATES

<i>Date</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
1790 . . . . .	757,000	19.3
1840 . . . . .	2,874,000	16.8
1860 . . . . .	4,442,000	14.1
1890 . . . . .	7,489,000	11.9
1920 . . . . .	10,463,000	9.9
1940 . . . . .	12,800,000	9.7

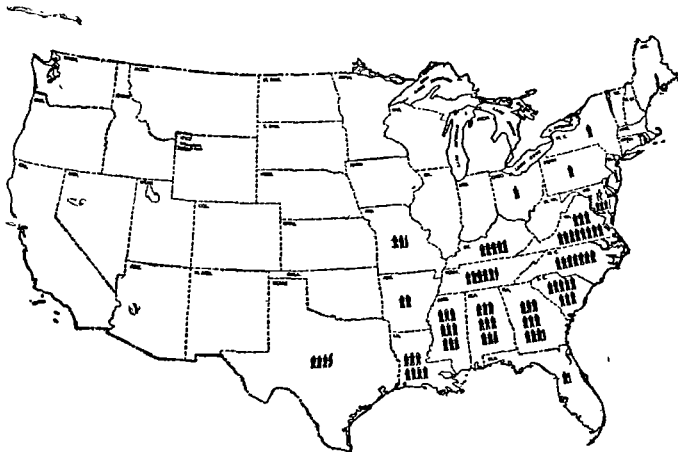
The sweeping movements in recent years have been from the rural South to the great industrial centers of the North and West. Today more than one fourth of all Negroes live outside the states of the Old South, and only about one half of the Negroes live in sections classed as rural (farms and communities of less than 2,500 population). Today New York City alone has more than twice as many Negroes as the whole of such

TABLE II  
CITIES HAVING OVER 100,000 NEGROES, 1940

New York City . . . . .	458,000
Chicago . . . . .	278,000
Philadelphia . . . . .	251,000
Washington, D. C. . . . .	187,000
Baltimore . . . . .	166,000
New Orleans . . . . .	149,000
Detroit . . . . .	149,000
Memphis . . . . .	121,000
St. Louis . . . . .	109,000
Birmingham . . . . .	109,000
Atlanta . . . . .	105,000

southern states as Kentucky and West Virginia. Eleven cities have over 100,000 Negroes. The new city of Los Angeles has 64,000.

The recent trek northward is spectacular. During the first World War the whole country was in flux. European



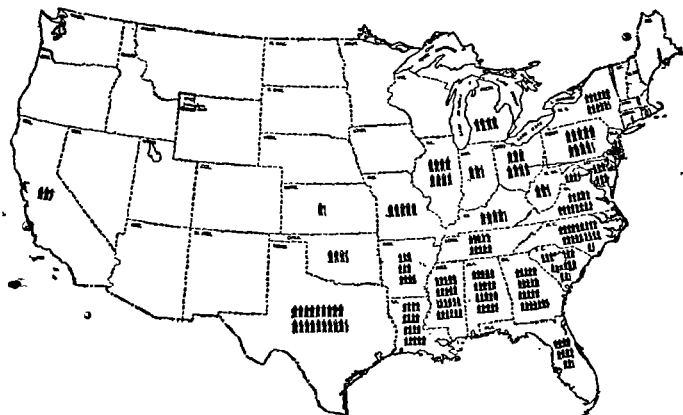
DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO POPULATION, 1860

(including only states having 25,000 or more)  
each completed figure represents 50,000

immigration was cut off at a time when munitions works and other factories were clamoring for labor. In 1917 and 1918 and 1919 hordes of Negroes—close to a half million in these three years alone—moved from the southern rurals to the northern industrial centers.

Whole sections of the South were depleted of labor. Southern planters who for decades had railed against the Negro masses suddenly were in panic at the threat of losing them. By edicts, by offers of better conditions, by force and threat, Southerners tried to stem the flood. But

the lure of high wages and the hope of ease from persecution and segregation carried the tide on northward. Cities of the North were overrun by black migrants who were fresh from the fields and had no knowledge of city ways or northern climates. Their reception was violent



DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO POPULATION, 1940  
(including only states having 25,000 or more)  
each completed figure represents 50,000

and confused. The factories welcomed them, but the workers and other white citizens grumbled and stormed. Finally in a number of cities, notably Chicago, East St. Louis, and Washington, ill feeling exploded into race riots.

But the movement was not to be stopped. A steady stream of Negroes has been coming north ever since the first great wave started in 1917. The stream swelled to a flood again in 1921-1924 when probably another half million came to the booming industrial centers. The later



migrations have been carried out in an orderly fashion and have not caused the disturbances that marked the first sudden arrivals. In practically all of the industrial cities Negroes have now built large colonies, gained political and economic status, and proved that they are in the North to stay.

TABLE III

NUMBER OF NEGROES IN STATES WITH OVER 25,000, AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN TOTAL POPULATION OF THESE STATES

State	1860		1900		1940	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Virginia . . . . .	549,000	34	661,000	36	661,000	25
Georgia . . . . .	466,000	44	1,035,000	47	1,085,000	35
Alabama . . . . .	438,000	45	827,000	45	983,000	35
Mississippi . . . . .	437,000	55	908,000	58	1,075,000	49
South Carolina . . . . .	412,000	59	782,000	58	814,000	43
North Carolina . . . . .	361,000	36	624,000	33	981,000	27
Louisiana . . . . .	350,000	49	651,000	47	849,000	36
Tennessee . . . . .	283,000	25	480,000	24	509,000	17
Kentucky . . . . .	236,000	20	285,000	13	214,000	7
Texas . . . . .	183,000	30	621,000	20	924,000	14
Maryland . . . . .	171,000	25	235,000	20	302,000	17
Missouri . . . . .	119,000	10	161,000	5	244,000	6
Arkansas . . . . .	111,000	26	367,000	28	483,000	25
Florida . . . . .	63,000	45	231,000	44	514,000	27
Pennsylvania . . . . .	57,000	2	157,000	2	470,000	5
New York . . . . .	49,000	1	99,000	1	571,000	4
Ohio . . . . .	37,000	2	70,000	2	339,000	5
New Jersey . . . . .	25,000	4	70,000	4	227,600	5 <sup>a</sup>
District of Columbia			87,000	31	187,000	28
Illinois . . . . .			85,000	2	387,000	5
Indiana . . . . .			58,000	2	122,000	4
Kansas . . . . .			52,000	3	65,000	4
West Virginia . . . . .			43,000	4	118,000	6
Oklahoma . . . . .			*		169,000	7
Massachusetts . . . . .			32,000	1	55,000	1
Delaware . . . . .			31,000	17	36,000	13
Michigan . . . . .					208,000	4
California . . . . .					124,000	2
Connecticut . . . . .					33,000	2

\* The Indian Territory, before the formation of the State of Oklahoma, had a population of 37,000 Negroes in 1900.

In spite of shifts and migrations, the bulk of Negroes live, as they always have, in the rural South. Their life and their culture are still molded by southern patterns. Unfortunately it is in the South that the traditions are most strongly against them. Their condition is the more difficult because they are at the bottom of an economic scale notably low for all the southern population and are caught in a farm system that is inhuman and inefficient.

## KEEPING ALIVE

IN HIS VIOLENT removals from Africa and in his troubled life in the New World, the Negro's physical stamina has been put to stern test. The conditions in the slave ships which brought Negroes to America were atrocious. Packed in the dark, filthy ships that sailed the long voyages from Africa to the West Indies and thence to the American mainland, hundreds of thousands died. Every slave imported meant five corpses in Africa or on the seas. Evil and inhuman as this was, it permitted only the best physical specimens to survive and start the new race in America. Only the sturdiest individuals could live through the hardships of the slave marts on the African coasts and the trials and exposures of getting to their future homes in the New World.

Thus American Negroes, descended from these tough survivors, are probably an unusually hardy race. Given good living conditions and protection from disease, they might be expected to show robust health and a low death rate.<sup>c</sup>

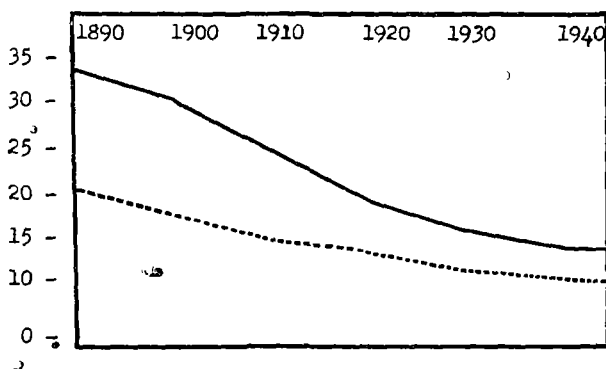
But Negroes have not had anything like as favorable living conditions as white Americans, and the sickness and death rates reflect their plight. Fifty years ago the Negro annual death rate, in an otherwise advanced country, was estimated at 33 per thousand—comparable to the terrible death rates in the worst sections of China

and India. Heroic improvements in health facilities and modes of living have cut that rate more than in half—to an estimated 14 per thousand. This is still 32 per cent above the annual death rate of 10.6 for the United States as a whole, though it compares favorably with death

#### DEATH RATES DURING THE PAST HALF CENTURY

Heavy black line shows Negro death rates  
Dotted line shows rates for total American population

Death Rate  
Per 1000



rates for total populations of all but a few very advanced countries. The Negro's span of life is still 11 years below the average for America as a whole: a life expectancy of 51 years for the Negro as contrasted with an average of 62 years for his white neighbors.

Death rates and life spans are but the index of sickness and suffering. The toll of daily sickness (shown by sample studies to be 43 per cent greater for Negroes

than for white Americans) is a heavier handicap than the high death rate. There is the incapacity for work, the suffering and worry, the cruel blows of sudden acute illness, and the drag and discouragement of slow or chronic ills. Chief scourges are tuberculosis, venereal disease, and the miseries of mothers and infants at the time of childbirth.

Tuberculosis is the curse of modern cities. Unused to urban living, having little natural immunity to this "white plague," crowded into tenements, Negroes have sickened and died of this disease far beyond their fellows. While tuberculosis is rated seventh among the causes of death for the United States as a whole, it is the first or second cause of death in most congested Negro centers. Studies made in 1938 in 46 American cities showed a tuberculosis death rate of 238 per hundred thousand Negroes compared to 48 per hundred thousand whites, a difference of almost 5 to 1. Certain cities show much greater disproportion: Milwaukee 485 Negro deaths to 42 whites; Buffalo 479 to 52; Chicago 290 to 43.

Efficient and cheap methods of detecting tuberculosis in its early stages are now being developed in many cities, and hospitalization and home care are being offered increasingly to all the population as a public-health measure to prevent spread of this infection. A special committee of the National Tuberculosis Association is showing that vigorous attack on Negro sickness is the surest way of curbing this plague. State and city health officers are taking up the campaign. Within another generation, this disease may be cut to one half or even one third its present ravages among Negroes, just

as it has been during recent decades in the white population.

Venereal diseases are known to be rampant among Negroes, as among all groups low in the economic and social scale. In one poverty-stricken southern county, for example, a study made ten years ago showed the syphilis rate among Negroes to be almost 40 per cent; in another southern county, where there were higher incomes and good health and educational facilities, less than 9 per cent were infected, a figure that compares favorably with the average of many white groups. Fortunately it is now known that syphilis and the other venereal diseases respond to specific treatment. In a single decade an intensive campaign has succeeded in reducing the syphilis rate in one county from 40 per cent to about 10 per cent. Treatment is slow and tedious, but even ignorant rural Negroes have been faithful in taking it wherever it has been offered. This plague will be reduced as fast as adequate health services are offered county by county, city by city, throughout the nation.

The great number of deaths of both mothers and infants at the time of childbirth are due to bad medical care and to the quaint and shocking methods of ignorant "grannies" who serve as midwives. This is largely a problem of the rural South. In Alabama alone 20,000 Negro "grannies" are the chief helpers at childbirths throughout all the rural areas of the state. Cities, where better care is available even to the very poor, show a much better record of infant and maternal health.

The cure for ills at childbirth is proper medical care. The services of doctors will probably not be available to the rural masses, white or colored, for many

years to come. The only practical answer seems to be the use of well-trained midwives. There has been strong resistance to the idea of midwife service in America, though it has long been the successful practice in all of the more advanced countries of Europe. A school for training of public-health nurses in the care of childbirth has recently been started at Tuskegee Institute. This may point the way toward better care of infants and mothers among the white as well as the colored population of rural America.

Negroes are becoming qualified to care for the health of their own people. There are estimated to be 4,000 colored physicians and 6,000 nurses in the United States today. Two excellent medical schools—the Howard University Medical School in Washington, D. C., and the Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee—are graduating 70 doctors in each year. In addition a number of Negroes take their medical courses at northern universities, though clinical experience is difficult except in hospitals serving patients of their race.

A score of Negro hospitals of good standing offer facilities for internes and residents and for postgraduate experience. In 1927 there were no facilities in any Negro hospital for resident training in medical and surgical specialties; in 1940 there were 34 such approved residencies for 8 specialties. Seventeen Negro hospitals are today approved by the national accrediting agencies for the training of internes.

Notable centers are Provident Hospital, in affiliation with the University of Chicago, Flint-Goodridge Hospital, a regular department of Dillard University, in New Orleans, and the John A. Andrew Memorial Hospital, of

Tuskegee Institute, which serves as a center for medical and health activities in rural Alabama. Congested areas of Negroes are being served by district health centers directed by Negro physicians, notably in Louisville, Baltimore, Birmingham, Philadelphia, New York, and Chicago. In swelling numbers colored nurses are being appointed to the health services of northern cities and southern counties. In 1938 three hundred public-health nurses were reported as members of the staffs of southern county health units.

The health of the new race is still far below American standard. This is a liability to the race and a menace to the nation as a whole. But there is no reason to suppose that improvements will not come within a generation or two which will bring the health of this group to the level made possible by modern hygiene and demanded by modern civilization.



## LEARNING THE NEW CIVILIZATION

THE NEW RACE has had to learn ways of life very different from anything known in any part of Africa, a civilization based on writing and number, on science, technology, and industrial efficiency. About the plantations and homesteads Negroes picked up the new language, the new religion, and some of the social and economic patterns. But they were rigidly excluded from the basic intellectual knowledge on which the civilization was built.

Negroes were denied education by law in all the slave states and even in several of the northern states. South Carolina's law made it an offense punishable by a fine of one hundred pounds "to teach or cause to be taught any slave or to employ one as a scribe in any manner of writing whatever." Georgia's law prohibited the education of all Negroes and added to the punishment of the teacher "a public whipping for the slave or free person of color instructed."

Of course it was not possible to keep the slaves wholly ignorant. Instruction was bootlegged to them. White children passed on some of their book learning to their black playmates. The French and Spanish Catholics gave a certain amount of religious instruction to colored penitents. Crusading Quakers founded schools in several states. A few southern abolitionists, such as John G. Fee

in Kentucky, kept opening schools for the "co-education of the races" in spite of attacks and mob violence. But in general the exclusion from instruction was so effective that, at emancipation, of all the four million slaves and half million free Negroes, only 5 per cent could read even simple sentences or write their own names.

### *Mission Schools*

At emancipation the eagerness of the freedmen for education was matched only by the zeal of crusading "missionaries" to see that they got it. Mission schools rose in a swelling tide and gave the Negroes almost all the teaching they had during the years just following freedom.

The first of the mission schools began in tidewater Virginia where early Union victories of the Civil War made the region around Hampton Roads and Fortress Monroe ("Old Freedom Fort") a haven for Negro refugees. Within two years some 64,000 Negroes had fled to this military zone. Perplexed about these "contrabands of war," the authorities began to care for them as wards of the government. The first school for contrabands was started, interestingly enough, not by a white "missionary," but by a Negro woman, Mrs. Mary Peake, the pioneer in a thrilling educational movement. Other schools sprang up all over the tidewater region. One of these, Hampton Agricultural and Normal Institute, grew to be the most famous of early Negro institutions. From the beginning it linked schools with the common life about them. Hand trades, gardens, home making, the

handling of animals and crops went hand in hand with reading, writing, and arithmetic.

In Nashville, Tennessee, just as the Civil War was closing, classes were started in the one-story frame shacks that had served as hospital barracks for the Union army. The officers' quarters were made into homes for an earnest band of teachers; the sick wards were fitted up as schoolrooms; the death house was turned into a storeroom for the needy and hungry. A pile of rusty handcuffs, salvaged from the city slave pit and sold as old iron bought the first "library"—testaments and spelling books. Students swarmed in—over a thousand a year. Unable to read or write when they entered, many stayed on year after year to be graduated a decade or two later from a full college course. When funds gave out the school treasurer organized a student chorus and toured the northern states—and later Europe—and so raised money to keep the classes going and to build the first brick building, which stands to this day—Jubilee Hall of Fisk University.

The eager work of church boards and missionary societies was soon joined by public funds from the Freedmen's Bureau created by the federal government. The most important school called into being by this Bureau, Howard University, was opened in 1867 in an abandoned dance hall and beer saloon. It was a new kind of institution. It opened its doors to everyone: black and white, young and old, married and single, educated and ignorant, with or without money. The early students graded the hill and cleared the land on which the school was to grow, and laid out the near-by streets, which are now avenues of the nation's capital. Since the closing of

the Freedmen's Bureau, which had helped in the succor and schooling of Negroes all over the South, Congress has continued grants in steadily increasing amounts to Howard University, the only federally supported university in the United States.

All over the South similar schools were springing up, similarly humble and colorful, similarly supported by church and federal funds, similarly manned by devoted teachers from the North, similarly overrun by eager mobs of Negro pupils ranging in age from six years to sixty. One church board alone, the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church, maintained three hundred Negro schools during these early years.

Many of these early mission schools were pretentious. They were called "universities" or at the very least "colleges," although the mass of the students were only beginning to learn their letters. Many were ill adapted to the needs of their newly freed charges. Pupils who did not know enough arithmetic to count the change in their pockets—and usually had none to count—were solemnly taught algebra and geometry. Students who could not correctly read or write English were plunged into the orations of Cicero and the heroic chants of Homer. A southern jibe of the times was one black girl calling over the dishpan to another, "Mandy, is yo' did yo' Greek?"

But there was solid good in the mission schools, too. Many of the teachers were not only devoted men and women but sound scholars, and their influence abides not only in the lives of the early students but in the traditions of the better Negro colleges. The New Englanders brought down their passion for cleanliness and neatness,

and to this day the buildings and campuses of Negro colleges are in striking contrast to the shabbiness and litter that marks so many of even the best of the white institutions of the South. The term "university" was not only vainglory, it was the goal which the missionaries and Negroes set for their schools. Of the hundreds of mission schools and colleges, many of which have been absorbed into the swelling public-school systems, Howard and Fisk and Atlanta have grown to be distinguished university centers of the South, regardless of race.

### *Public Schools*

At the time of the Civil War, public schools were still little developed in the South. The legislatures of the Reconstruction Era, which have been ridiculed for many fantastic acts, have the credit for setting up modern public-school systems. The millions of white as well as colored children have to thank the Negro and "carpet-bagger" law givers for the public education which is now firmly established in every southern state.

During the decades just following the Civil War the Negroes received a fair share of the public funds that went into the building of the public schools. But as taxes became a heavy burden public officials began to think of ways to skimp the freedmen. The whole idea of educating Negroes was attacked and ridiculed. By the nineties, Negro education was at the bottom; northern interest had waned, and southern interest had not yet started.

At just that time Booker Washington flashed on the scene—as colorful a personality as ever was in all America's colorful history. Born a slave, he found his

way soon after freedom to Hampton. There he passed his entrance examination—by sweeping a room! He literally swept his way through this institution, then went to Alabama to take charge of a school just opened there—Tuskegee Institute—which under his direction became the most talked-about school in the South.

The first class that gathered at Tuskegee was illiterate, ill-kempt, greasy, ragged. Booker Washington declared that the first lesson would be in neatness, and ordered all to report next morning with bodies and clothes washed, buttons in place, rags sewed up and patched. The next lesson was in work. The grounds were attacked by the whole school, teachers and pupils alike, and cleaned up. The boys helped build the first classrooms, and the girls kept them clean and cooked and served the food. Larger buildings were needed, so Washington had the boys learn brickmaking. Lumber must be had; he set up a sawmill. The buildings needed planning; he had the students learn to draw and even to make blueprints. He hitched up an old plow horse with a mule, and himself ran the first furrow in what has grown into a thriving farm. Book-learning was a prize to be had only after labor was well done.

Booker Washington's students went out to man the little public schools in Alabama and adjoining states, carrying the spirit of Tuskegee with them. The white South became more and more interested in this new practical schooling. Washington sealed this interest with a speech at the Atlanta Exposition when, dramatically holding up his hand with fingers spread, he shouted, "In all things that are purely social Negroes and whites can be as separate as the fingers of the hand." Then, dou-

bling his fingers into a strong fist, "Yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." The South accepted this as an agreement to segregation and "no social equality," and responded by a renewed support of Negro schools.

Many Negroes opposed Washington's position, thinking that it accepted too readily the social degradation of the race. But to the mass of his race he was the great leader. He was to them what the other Washington was to the nation at large. And to the white South he was the answer to keeping the Negro in his place, yet giving him the benefit of many of the public services of a democracy. Although Tuskegee is a private college, it has probably had a greater influence on the spread of public schools for Negroes than any other single force.

Today the momentum of the public-school system is strong for all the people. Because of the late start and *the continued lack of wealth, southern schools are not yet up to national standard, and the Negro schools are still far behind the white.* But the movement is on. There is scarcely a county in the South without schools for Negroes; in many there is an extensive system with twenty or more schools to the county, covering not only the elementary grades but high school as well. Every southern state has at least one publicly supported college for the higher education of Negroes, especially for the preparation of teachers. Recently there has been a healthy return to realism and practicality as well as book-learning in the rural schools and in the preparation of rural teachers, both white and colored.

North Carolina is a good illustration of the change in

attitude of southern states toward Negro education. In 1835 that state passed a law forbidding the teaching of the race and specifically stating that its public-school system should "*never* extend any of its benefits to any descendant of Negro ancestors even to the fourth generation." Just a century later, North Carolina is leading the nation in its provision of public instruction for Negroes, with 2,141 public schools, 168 of them at high school level, 5 state-supported colleges, and \$7,000,000 annual expenditure from the state treasury for Negro education.

For the South as a whole, a survey in 1936 showed 2,439,000 Negro children in school, 189,000 of them in high schools, and 11,000 in the several state colleges for Negroes. In that year 61,000 colored teachers were employed from tax money, 2,700 of them in institutions of college grade.

But there are still huge gaps to be filled. To match the two and a half million pupils attending school are more than a half million who never set foot inside a classroom. Some of the schools still run for only three or four months, with teachers paid but twenty-five or thirty dollars per month for these short terms. Booker Washington used to say of this: "Negro children are bright, but you pay them too high a compliment when you expect them to learn in three months what the white children have trouble enough learning in nine." While textbooks are now furnished by most of the states, supplementary reading is almost unobtainable by colored pupils or their parents. The regular "public libraries" exclude Negroes, and scant facilities are yet built up in Negro branch libraries or bookmobile services.



*Average Educational Expenditures Per Pupil in 1936**Survey of 10 southern states*

For U. S. as a whole	For white children	For colored children
\$80.26	\$49.30	\$17.04

The annual expenditures per pupil in 1935-1936, based on careful surveys of ten states, were \$17.04 for Negro children and \$49.30 for white children. The Negro expenditures in given states ranged to a low of \$8.75 in Georgia and \$9.30 in Mississippi. The poverty of the schools for either race is seen when compared with the average expenditure per pupil throughout the United States as a whole, which in 1935-1936 was \$80.26.

The scant expenditures for Negro education are easily explained. The South as a whole has a much smaller income and per capita wealth than other regions and a much higher proportion of children of school age. While southern states in proportion to their wealth tax themselves more for schools than the richer states do, they still have only one third as much per pupil as the average for the nation. The South spends on the Negro only one third of its third of the national average.

There are two very hopeful signs. The South is gradually realizing that its progress depends upon the growth of all its people. Increasingly Negroes are being regarded, not as a race by themselves, but as an integral part of southern life in health and labor, in culture and prosperity. More and more southern leaders are planning the public schools and the other public services for

the benefit of all the people. And, second, the entire nation is coming to realize that it has a stake in the education of the children of the whole country wherever they may be. Federal subsidy is the only way to provide education of American standard for children, either white or colored, in the poorer regions. The federal government doubtless will move soon toward national equalization of educational opportunity.

The new race has made amazing progress in learning the new civilization. A crude gauge is the gain in literacy from a scant 5 per cent at the time of emancipation to more than 85 per cent today. But far beyond this, Negroes have been making progress in every branch of science and learning. One hundred colleges in America are devoted specifically to the higher education of this race, many of them of excellent standard, several of them pioneers in educational patterns that are being copied widely. Attendance at colleges and graduate schools is steadily and swiftly growing. During the past five years, about twenty thousand Negroes have been graduated from colleges, more than the number graduated during the entire previous history of the race. About two hundred have received the Ph.D. degree, the highest which can be conferred by an American university. Over two hundred have been elected to the high scholarship society of Phi Beta Kappa, more than half of this number in the last sixteen years. More than one hundred Negroes have become sufficiently prominent in American life to be listed in *Who's Who in America*. Achievements in so short a period show what will come as educational opportunities are more equitably offered to members of this new race.

## MAKING A LIVING

NEGROES WERE BROUGHT to America for labor on the farms and plantations and for personal service about the homes. In spite of all the recent changes, the great mass of Negroes still make their living by doing these things. Two million in farming and one million in domestic service today make up over half of all Negroes listed as gainfully employed.

Farmers and their families are the bulk of the Negroes now in the rural South. Of these, 175,000 are reported as owning their own farms—a total of approximately 10,000,000 acres, equal to nearly a third of the area of Alabama, more than the joint acreage of the three historic states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. An additional 300,000 Negroes are operating farms with some personal initiative as managers or tenants. More than one and a half million are field laborers or sharecroppers.

The picture is not of two million peasant farmers and their families living in simple bucolic bliss. This may be true in part of those who are owners or renters, but for the most part there is neither security nor contentment. In hundreds of thousands of cases the sharecroppers, in want for every decency of living, are in practical peonage. The rule is for the owner or manager to let out parcels of land to Negroes—and now in even greater

numbers to white "croppers" as well—and in return to receive a fixed share of the crop. Usually the landlord supplies tools, machinery, seed, and fertilizer. Often he makes advances in the form of food and clothes and other "furnish," all being charged against the prospective sale of the tenant's share of the crop. Thus, not a share, but all the crop often goes to satisfy the demands of the landlord, with debt hanging over into the next year. "It's owed before it's growed," groan the croppers. Since the landlord usually keeps the books, runs the supply store, and sells the crop, the tenant is at his mercy. And, since tradition and the folkways are all on the side of the owner, the tenant cannot exact an accounting, cannot even complain without being in danger of abuse and often mob violence. "Keeping the nigger in his place" means throughout much of the rural South keeping the rural Negro from any rights as a self-respecting farmer or free laborer.

Greatest recent openings for Negroes have been in the heavy industries. Over one million of the five and a half million Negroes gainfully employed are listed as in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 150,000 of them skilled workers or foremen and 225,000 semi-skilled workers. The steel mills are teeming with brown workers, an estimated 120,000 in the various iron and steel works, 3,000 in the Pittsburgh area and 7,500 in Birmingham, Alabama. Automobile factories and accessory plants have attracted large numbers. The Ford plant has been especially hospitable, employing about 9,000 Negroes (11% of the total employees), many of them in highly skilled posts and as foremen of sections and divisions. Slaughtering and meat packing employ

more than 15,000 Negroes, most of them in Chicago and Kansas City. The national emergency has opened new doors to Negro workers. The federal War Production Board, backed by a direct order from the President of the nation, has insisted that plants holding defense contracts employ workers without discrimination.

Negroes have faced, not only the prejudice of employers, but even more baffling bars by the labor unions. The attitudes of the various unions have shown strange differences. Until recently some twenty-five national and international labor organizations excluded Negroes, either by their constitutions or their practices. Many other unions which do not officially exclude Negroes have made it practically impossible for them to join. Still another group admits them freely but to separate divisions. On the other hand, the unions of longshoremen, hod carriers, common building laborers, and tunnel workers have admitted Negroes without restriction. The most successful of the specifically Negro unions is the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, partly because the race has a monopoly on these jobs and because of the brilliant leadership over a long period of its organizer, A. Philip Randolph. The growth of the C.I.O. has given Negroes a new stake in labor. This organization has a flat law against exclusion, and today has a Negro membership of over one hundred thousand. The leadership of the C.I.O. and the gradual realization that labor must stand together if it is to be effective are changing the attitudes of older unions and giving the Negro a new standing in industry.

As businessmen and homeowners, Negroes are but slowly making their way. A recent survey values the real

property owned by Negroes at two and a half billion dollars. Negro businesses have grown up largely in self-defense, because of the difficulties Negroes find in getting service from white agencies. The forty-four Negro insurance companies, which now carry nearly a half billion dollars of insurance, grew because of the slighting of Negroes by the large white corporations. The twenty-three Negro banks, with combined resources of over fifteen million dollars, the forty building and loan associations, and the many mutual savings societies serve a clientele that finds it hard to get credit or other services from the white financial agencies. Negroes are operating 25,701 stores, chiefly in the sale of groceries, foods, and drinks, giving employment to 41,000 persons, with a total annual payroll of more than \$8,500,000. Many businesses are in personal-service fields where race discrimination is almost universal: restaurants, beauty parlors, barber shops, undertaking establishments.

Hardships confront such racial commerce. Limiting trade to a single race group prevents large-scale enterprise and hampers even individual projects. Negroes at present are among the least prosperous classes in America. Businesses which rely solely on this patronage start with a handicap, and it is still difficult for them to finance themselves and get credit.

One of the best hopes for the Negro in America is the growing co-operative movement through which Negroes can organize their economic resources to help themselves. The history of many of these co-operatives has proved that low-income groups generally can raise their level of living by buying co-operatively and selling to themselves at far better prices than they can get as in-

dividuals. Co-operatives bid fair to become very important as new economic forces and as means whereby investors, managers, laborers, and consumers may find common ground and common interest. To Negroes they are one of the clear ways out and up.

Into two professions, teaching and preaching, the Negroes have entered in great numbers. Of the 115,000 listed in the professions, almost three fourths are in these callings. Most of the teachers are in the segregated schools and colleges of the South. There is a much smaller number in the North, but it is increasing year by year in the large cities. In northern cities, especially in schools attended chiefly by Negro pupils, it is becoming the habit to appoint Negro teachers. While these cities properly refuse to classify their teachers by race, it is estimated that there are at least five hundred Negro teachers in New York City and at least three hundred in Chicago. The race has furnished its own preachers in large numbers for more than a century. In 1930 there were 25,034.

The medical professions include 4,000 Negro physicians, 2,000 dentists, and 6,000 nurses. Only about 1,200 Negro lawyers are known to be practicing. They meet serious difficulties, for however capable they may be they are at a disadvantage in courts except in a few northern cities. Where prejudice is strong, defendants can have little hope of consideration unless they are represented by white men of standing and influence.

Many Negroes are now making their living from music—more than 11,000, according to recent surveys. Another 4,000 are actors and showmen. A much smaller number are professional artists, but even that group is

adding to its numbers and to its distinction. In all the arts the Negro is making a living at one of the things he does best and enjoys most.

Journalism is on the up-wave. At the beginning of the century there was no Negro newspaper of influence or wide circulation. Today Negroes own and publish two hundred newspapers and numerous periodicals of all sorts. Almost every large city both North and South has at least one Negro newspaper. These journals are not yet on a firm financial basis, chiefly because they have not been able to get important national or local advertising. They are, however, having influence on a growing number of readers.

Real estate as an occupation has flourished with Negro migration to urban centers. Some 4,050 Negroes are now making careers in buying and selling property and acting as agents for buildings, and 1,500 are successfully operating contracting and building concerns.

Substantial numbers of Negroes have recently been entering the so-called white-collar jobs. Thousands of positions have been opened to clerks, stenographers, and accountants in Negro colleges and businesses. The New Deal has followed a most liberal policy in government employment. The number of Negroes in government bureaus in Washington and about the country which as recently as 1930 was 57,000, is now over 150,000.

In professional sports the Negro has been conspicuous. In every important division of pugilism Negroes at one time or another have won first honors. The championship of the world was held for years by Jack Johnson and is currently held by Joe Louis, to the pride and



satisfaction of millions of his race. Negroes have distinguished themselves in other branches of athletics and have won high acclaim in the world's most celebrated competition, the Olympics. The most conspicuous Olympics success is Jesse Owens who, in 1936, came in first in the 100- and 200-meter dashes and won the broad jump.

Negroes have played an honorable part in the several wars of the nation. In peace-loving America we do not think of war as a livelihood, but it is one of the emergency careers to which we give the highest honor. Many Negroes fought in the Revolutionary War, and Crispus Attucks was the first colonial soldier to give his life for the new nation. In the Civil War 179,000 Negroes were enlisted in the Union armies, of whom 37,000 lost their lives. Even in the Confederacy Negroes served, not only in many unarmed activities, but were called upon for military duty. In the World War over two and a half million Negroes registered for service and of these two hundred thousand went to France. The first soldier of the entire American Expeditionary Forces to receive the Croix de Guerre with star and palm was the Negro sergeant Henry Johnson of the 15th Regiment, New York National Guard. The whole regiment was cited for exceptional valor in action during the Meuse-Argonne offensive, and its colors were decorated with the Croix de Guerre.

In spite of eagerness to do their share, Negroes have not been allowed to take their full part in the country's armed forces. The Navy did not open its doors to Negro personnel until 1942. In the Army Negroes have had two regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, but for

the most part they have been used in labor battalions. In the current World War they are being given wider opportunities. The President recently appointed the first Negro general, and there is a new air school at Tuskegee for the training of Negro pilots.

Two trends are clear. Negroes have been losing ground steadily in many of their historic occupations in the South. Hotels are replacing Negroes by Europeans as waiters, cooks, bellboys, in all branches of service. Where Negroes formerly controlled teaming, trucking, and horse-drawn vehicles generally, they have not carried over in large numbers into taxi driving, garage work, and other aspects of auto transport. As barbers and in other forms of personal service, and even in such menial and heavy tasks as street cleaning and road making, Negroes in the South are being shoved out by whites. On the other hand, they are moving rapidly into the newer mechanical industries, spectacularly in the North and in substantial numbers in southern cities.

## HALF NAZI, HALF DEMOCRAT

AMERICA GAVE ITS full pledge of freedom seventy-five years ago. Slavery had been a strange paradox in a nation founded on the principle that "all men are created free and equal." Finally, after tumult and war, the nation in 1865 took a new stand: freedom for all the people. The new order was backed by amendments to the national constitution making it the fundamental law that thenceforth there should be no discrimination anywhere in this land of the free "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

But tradition and prejudice live on in spite of law. Thirteen million native-born American citizens continue to be bound by many restrictions and by thousands of daily hurts. While we resent Hitler's boast that he took his pattern for handling minorities in Europe from our treatment of Negroes in America, we still hold racial attitudes half democrat, half nazi.

Brown Americans still wear chains. The finest Negro is at the mercy of the meanest white man. Even winners of our highest honors face the crass color bar. Look at a few of the paradoxes that mark daily life in America.

Anyone who saw that memorable play, *The Green Pastures*, will remember Richard Harrison, the gifted actor who created the role of "de Lawd." At the close of the play's successful southern tour, he and other mem-

bers of the cast were given a gala reception by the leading citizens of Texas headed by the governor of the state. Courtesies and praise were showered upon the artists who had interpreted so simply and reverently the Bible story. Glowing from this reception, Richard Harrison went to board a late night train to spend the holidays with his family in Chicago. His greeting at the station as he asked for a berth was: "Nigger, you can't ride in no Pullman." All that was available to "de Lawd" on that otherwise handsome express train was a shabby seat in a Jim Crow car. There he sat up for twenty-four hours in a drab and filthy coach which carried newspapers and hæksters' supplies as well as the eminent old man who had been so signally honored a few hours before.

- Another striking case attracted national attention. Marian Anderson was barred from singing in Constitution Hall, ironically enough by the professional daughters of the very men who founded this nation for liberty and equality. But that tale had a different ending. The nation rose in protest, gave a stunning rebuke to the Daughters of the American Revolution and a tremendous ovation to the artist. Marian Anderson sang in Washington on Easter Sunday and, fittingly, before the Lincoln Memorial. Ranking cabinet members and a justice of the Supreme Court were seated about her. Seventy-five thousand people stood patiently for hours to hear a great artist at a historic moment. She sang as never before, with tears in her eyes and in her voice. When the words of "America" and "Nobody Knows de Trouble I See" rang out over that great gathering, there was a hush on the sea of uplifted faces, black and white, and a new baptism of liberty, equality, fraternity. That

was a touching tribute. But—Miss Anderson may not yet spend the night in any “good” hotel in America. Recently she was again signally honored by being given the Bok award as “the most distinguished resident of Philadelphia.” Yet—she cannot be served in many of the public restaurants of her home city even after it has declared her to be its first citizen.

So, with our right hand, we raise to high places the great who have dark skins. And, with our left, we slap them down to “keep them in their place.”

These are everyday events in the life of any brown American. Even those who help to make the laws of the country are liable to them. A well-known case is that of Congressman Arthur Mitchell, United States Representative from the State of Illinois, who had bought a first-class ticket, including Pullman accommodations, for a trip from Chicago to Hot Springs. In Arkansas he was put out of the Pullman car. What if he was a representative of the United States Government? What if he had paid for his ticket? “He’s a nigger, ain’t he?” This case also has had a reversal. The Supreme Court ruled that this kind of Jim Crowism is against the Constitution of the nation and that if states insist on separation of the races they must furnish equal accommodations for all groups.

The Supreme Court stands like a rock against legal abuses. But most of the slights and insults are not matters of law but of custom. And the only thing that will correct them is a change in attitude, increasing devotion to the practice as well as the principle of democracy.

There is no use pretending that Negroes are any better than they are. In the group itself there is quarrel-

ing and jealousy as well as a lot of plain old-fashioned stupidity. While an increasing number are fine, educated, upright men and women, the Negro masses are far below the average American standard in almost every phase. The only questions are: Do we want to keep Negroes in that lowly place? Are we so eager to have them in the gutter that we are willing to stay in the gutter ourselves to hold them there? Are we going to allow ancient prejudice and primitive taboos to keep back the growth of thirteen million people whose lives are bound up with the backwardness or progress of the whole nation?

There is no rational explanation for anything as emotional as prejudice. But various causes for it can easily be seen.

Dark skin sets off the Negro as something outside the dominant American pattern. And there is the tendency to hate a person or group whom we have injured. As a race the Negro is on our conscience, and, by a well-known principle of psychology, we turn our bad conscience because of him into active enmity against him.

During slavery an elaborate philosophy of caste was built up that is slow to down. Politicians declared that the Negro was not human; preachers argued as to whether he had a soul; scientists offered "proofs" that he was mentally and morally inferior. Sophistry thundered from the platforms and pulpits: "Man is made in the image of God: since it is well known that God is not a Negro, it follows that the Negro is not a man."

And underlying all this is the great need of every

man to feel superior to someone. It is particularly pleasing to have a whole group of people who "by definition" are beneath us. A part of the passionate cry to keep the Negro in his place is the urge of the poor-white ego to have somebody to whom it can be sure it is superior.

Prejudice leads to discrimination even when it is clear that by means of it we are also injuring ourselves. It causes labor unions to slight the Negro even though this makes a breach in the ranks of labor and sets back the whole movement. It leads school men to condone low standards in racial education and so retard the progress of a whole region. It leads police to arrest Negroes carelessly and courts to treat them cruelly, thus breeding more lawlessness and crime. It moves us to block Negro efforts to make money and to do skilled work, even though this holds back the general prosperity. A few years ago it even led many Southerners to call for lower relief grants and lower wage scales for the South than for the rest of the nation, since it seemed to them more important to keep the Negro down than to help the region up.

Prejudice has led to drastic restrictions, strange customs, and tragic violence. All through the South Negroes are relegated to separate schools, separate parks and playgrounds, separate hospitals, separate space on trains and buses. In spite of the national law that where segregation exists equal facilities must be provided for both races, the practice is to retain the segregation and ignore the equality. A brilliant Negro scholar recently spent weeks reading the volumes he needed in his historical research in the men's washroom of a southern

“public library” because he could not take the books out with him and was not allowed to use them in the reading room. Richard Wright, the now famous Negro author, tells with bitter humor how he managed to read the classics—by using the names of prominent white citizens on notes addressed to the librarian, asking her to send by “this boy” the desired volumes.

There is a great pother about names and titles. While of course white people must be addressed in the most respectful manner, the old rule was that Negroes could never be called “Mister” or “Missus” and that in general they should be spoken to only by their first names. That rule is no longer followed by enlightened Southerners. In fact, it is now so well known that only the poorer classes deliberately abuse Negroes that it is becoming a mark of good breeding to be courteous to them. Nevertheless, politicians and poor whites still go to amusing lengths to avoid any marks of respect. Negroes are addressed as “doctor,” “professor,” even “captain” or “major”—anything to avoid the dreadful “mister.” A few years ago a witness who persisted, after a warning, in referring to a Negro defendant as Mr. Scott was fined for contempt of court. A Negro who asked for a tin of Prince Albert tobacco was shown the picture of the white Prince Albert on the can and forced to call for “Mr. Prince Albert” before he was given the tobacco. Negroes sometimes go to similar extremes on the other side. For a recent colored concert in New Orleans the programs all had to be reprinted in order to place “Mister” or “Miss” before each artist’s name, quite contrary to artistic usage.

In violation of the basic principle of democracy,



Negroes are not allowed to vote. Even today four million are kept from using the ballot—almost two thirds of the Negroes of voting age.

During the Reconstruction Era, the freedmen had a field day in politics. They went to Congress and the Senate; they crowded the state legislatures; they held state and local offices by election and appointment. But, as soon as northern military control was withdrawn, the South curbed the rights of citizenship. Mobs, especially the Ku Klux Klan, first drove Negroes from the polls. Then more formal methods were found. Only those who had certain property or educational qualifications or whose grandfathers had voted were admitted to the polls. These rules barred Negroes who had no property and little education and whose forebears had been slaves. Sometimes, fearing loss of control of the polls, southern states kept Negroes from the party primaries which under the one-party system of the South govern the elections, just as they do in Nazi Germany. One by one these formal rules have been outlawed by the Supreme Court, but by one means or another almost all Negroes are still kept from the vote in the states of the deep South.

In some states literacy tests were adopted which provided that voters must be able to read and interpret given texts. Few Negroes, however skilled in reading, have been able to "interpret" to the pleasure of the white officials. A Negro graduate of Harvard who tried to register in Mississippi was asked to read from the Bible, the Constitution, a Latin book, and a Greek text, all of which he did fluently. Thereupon the registrar picked up a laundry slip with some Chinese characters

written on it, thrust it into the man's face, and demanded: "Now, daggone ye, what does that mean?" The Negro looked at it with a smile and answered, "It means that you white folks are not going to let me vote."

For decades the poll tax was a favorite means of curbing votes. This called for payment of a head tax six months or more in advance of election and the payment of back taxes for every year since coming of age. Since these taxes stopped not only Negro voters but also 64 per cent of the white citizens in eleven southern states, strong feeling has grown up against them. The poll tax has been repealed in North Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida, and will probably soon be repealed in other states.

In several of the larger southern cities and in the border states Negroes are now voting in steadily increasing numbers. In Kentucky and West Virginia they have practically full franchise. The migration of great numbers to northern states has recently given Negroes an influence, not only in local elections, but in national politics. Nine states have sent Negroes to their legislatures. Since 1929 a seat in Congress has been filled by a Negro, from a Chicago district, first Oscar DePriest, a Republican, and now Arthur Mitchell, a Democrat.

Most terrible of all the crimes against decency—to say nothing of democracy—are lynchings. Happily they are rare today. But during the past seventy-five years more than three thousand Negroes have been tortured to death by mobs. Contrary to popular belief, sex offenses are not the chief causes of lynchings. The study entitled *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States* reports that of the 2,522 cases carefully traced only

477, or less than one fifth, were even accused of rape. Hundreds of Negroes have been done to death for the most trivial offenses: talking back, testifying against a white man, shooting a white man's dog. One Negro was lynched for accepting the office of postmaster, another for persuading a white family's servant to leave. Many have been killed for resisting white men's attacks on their wives or sisters.

There is great wastage throughout the South in the struggle between the races. Many subjects have simply been closed to discussion. Prejudice against the Negro has built up provincialism and intolerance to all "foreign" people or fresh ideas. The church, baffled by inability to practice or even to preach the central Christian doctrines of brotherly love and the Golden Rule, tends to be thrown back onto a deadening fundamentalism which worships the letter of Old Testament history rather than the spirit of the New Testament gospel. Energy is dissipated upon prejudice and diverted from constructive causes. In the South as well as in Germany race hate is still the stock in trade of unscrupulous politicians. Outrageous as the sufferings of the victims are, the effects of hate and prejudice are as great a handicap to the South as a whole as to the Negro. All this sensible Southerners are more and more coming to recognize.

When decent treatment for the Negro is urged, a certain class of people hurry to raise the scarecrow of social mingling and intermarriage. Those questions have nothing to do with the case. And most people who kick up this kind of dust know that it is simply dust to obscure the real question of rights and opportunities. It

It is fair to remember that almost the total of race mixture in America has come, not at Negro initiative, but by the acts of those very white men who talk loudest of "race purity." Negroes aren't eager to marry white girls, and they would like to have their own girls left alone by both white toughs and white aristocrats. Negroes do not want to force themselves into any social gathering where they are not welcome.

Negroes want and are entitled to demand the basic rights and opportunities of American citizens: the right to earn a living at work for which they are fitted by training and ability; equal opportunities in education, health, recreation, and similar public services; the right to vote; equality before the law; some of the same courtesies and good manners that they themselves bring to all human relations.

## DARK MELODY

WITH<sup>o</sup> MELODIOUS lament a familiar spiritual begins:

Nobody knows de trouble I see,  
Nobody knows but Jesus.

Nobody knows de trouble I see,  
GLORY, HALLELUJAH.

In these folk songs of religion, masses of Negroes, millions of them, have poured out their suffering and their worship. Even anguish is expressed in melody. And soon the lilt and rhythm catches up their souls and carries them on to glory. A wail of troubles too bitter to know swings upward in four brief verses to a shout of hallelujah.

Not with weeping and self-pity have the members of the new race met the buffets and woes of a life of slavery, privation, and insult. They have relieved their souls with laughter and with song. The soil which they have wearily tilled all day feels at evening the caress of light feet in dance. The overseer's lash of slave days and the present jeers of the white rulers are answered in part with the singing of spirituals and blues and the playing of jazz.

Dragged from the tropical plains of Africa, rich in a folklore of voodoo and ceremonial dance, Negroes

found in America a religion beautifully adapted to their needs. The stories of the Old Testament and the mystical concepts of the New gave a rich outlet for worship and ecstasy. The Hebrew prophets came to life with their ancient zeal. Jehovah ascended again his high and mighty throne, and his wrath became a visible terror. Jesus retook his place as the Bleeding Lamb, the Saviour who bore all suffering and wiped away all tears. Heaven became a miraculous escape from earthly suffering, with a fervid acceptance probably not equalled since the days of the early apostles. The expression of all this was poured forth in the spirituals.

I looked over Jordan, what did I see  
 Coming for to carry me home?  
 A golden chariot, coming after me,  
 Coming for to carry me home.

Swing low, sweet chariot,  
 Coming for to carry me home,  
 Swing low, sweet chariot,  
 Coming for to carry me home.

Let anyone join in that chorus with its soothing repetition of soothing words, with its melody and its cadence, and the purpose and the power of the spirituals will not need explanation.

Often quaint, homely words creep with no impropriety into the description of sacred or tragic events.

They crucified my Lord,  
 An' He never said a mumblin' word.  
 They nailed Him to the tree,  
 They pierced Him in the side,  
 The blood came twinklin' down,  
 He bowed His head and died;

An' He never said a mumblin' word,  
Not a word, not a word, not a word.

Comfort is taken from the sufferings—and deliverance—of the ancient Bible heroes.

Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel?  
An' why not ebery man?  
He delivered Daniel from de lion's den,  
Jonah from de belly of de whale,  
An' de Hebrew chillun from de fiery furnace,  
An' why not ebery man?

Spirituals often refer to homely comforts in heaven which represent longed-for things on earth.

I got shoes,  
You got shoes,  
All God's chillun got shoes;  
When I get to heab'n, I'm goin' to put on my shoes,  
I'm goin' to walk all over God's heab'n,  
Heab'n, heab'n,  
Everybody talkin' 'bout heab'n ain't goin' dar,  
Heab'n, heab'n,  
I'm goin' to walk all over God's heab'n.

The spirituals are now so much in vogue—in white America as well as brown—that they tend to obscure the other religious forms created by the Negro. But songs are only one of the consolations of the church. Prayers and sermons are also instruments for scourging or soothing the soul. The talks to God and to the congregation quickly fall into rhythm. Even if the words are meaningless, as they sometimes are, the delivery is with the voice of a trombone; the swing and cadence remain and satisfy. But often the words also are rich with imagery and comfort.

James Weldon Johnson, the Negro author, expressed the best of the prayers and sermons of the back-country preacher in a series of poems which he entitled *God's Trombones*. A part of one of these sermons reads:

GO DOWN DEATH—A FUNERAL SERMON<sup>1</sup>

Weep not, weep not,  
 She is not dead;  
 She's resting in the bosom of Jesus.  
 Heart-broken husband—weep no more;  
 Grief-stricken son—weep no more;  
 Left-lonesome daughter—weep no more;  
 She's only just gone home.

Day before yesterday morning,  
 God was looking down from his great, high heaven,  
 Looking down on all his children,  
 And his eye fell on Sister Caroline,  
 Laying on her bed of pain.  
 And God's big heart was touched with pity,  
 With the everlasting pity.

And God sat back on his throne,  
 And he commanded that tall, bright angel standing  
 at his right hand:  
 Call me Death!  
 And that tall, bright angel cried in a voice  
 That broke like a clap of thunder:  
 Call Death!—Call Death!  
 And the echo sounded down the streets of heaven  
 Till it reached away back to that shadowy place,  
 Where Death waits with his pale, white horses.

And God said: Go down, Death, go down,  
 Go down to Savannah, Georgia.

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted by permission of The Viking Press, New York, 1927.



Down in 'Yamacraw,  
 And find Sister Caroline.  
 She's borne the burden and heat of the day,  
 She's labored long in my vineyard,  
 And she's tired—  
 She's weary—  
 Go down, Death, and bring her to me.

Weep not—weep not,  
 She is not dead;  
 She's resting in the bosom of Jesus.

But the Negro has not found his expression solely in religion. He sings at his work. He laughs at his oppressors. His gracious manners are in themselves a fine art and a subtle rebuff to his scornful detractors. He infuses his play with a creative zest that puts to shame the passive enjoyment of the Anglo-Saxon.

The American dance, both on the stage and in the night club, is largely of Negro origin. Of the soft-shoe and tap dance, the Negro is the acknowledged master. Bill (Bojangles) Robinson is world-famous as the greatest exponent of this art. In social dance, the Negro has formed and passed on to the eager imitation of his less creative white neighbor the cakewalk, Charleston, black bottom, Lindy hop, truckin', shim sham shimmy, jitterbug—the whole list of jazz steps. Even the currently popular Latin American dance forms such as the conga and the rumba owe their origin to Latin American Negro groups.

The troubled, syncopated music of jazz is as distinctive a contribution as the spirituals. The Negro has expressed so perfectly in music the bafflement of humans

at the tempo of industrial and urban life that jazz and the jazz age have come to be regarded as belonging, not to the Negro, but to America generally and to the whole present world of western industrialism. Jazz is modern American life caricatured by the expressive new race. The beginnings of jazz were the songs called the blues—ballads of the fickleness of men and women. The most famous of these—the “St. Louis Blues”—written by the Negro composer, W. C. Handy, is still popular. Certain orchestra leaders and their all-Negro bands, such as Duke Ellington and Cab Calloway, are known throughout the land. Colored musicians generally have strongly and subtly influenced modern music.

The Negro's exuberance and zest for life, which has flowed so richly into folk art, is now beginning to find expression in what are called the fine arts: literature, drama, music, painting.

Such writers as Richard Wright, James Weldon Johnson, DuBois, and Arna Bontemps have made manifest to readers in America and Europe the artistic feelings and expression of the race. Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, and Claude McKay are the glorified successors of the eighteenth-century poet, Phyllis Wheatley, and the dialect singer, Paul Laurence Dunbar. On the concert platform Marian Anderson, Dorothy Maynor, Paul Robeson, and Roland Hayes bring the finest expression of the human voice to eager audiences of many nations. William Grant Still ranks with the best of modern composers, and Dean Dixon has proved his ability as a conductor. Augusta Savage and Richmond Barthe are among America's leading sculptors. Aaron Douglas, Hale Woodruff, Dox Thrash, Jacob Lawrence, and

Charles Alston are but examples among the swelling list of painters. E. Simms Campbell is a spectacular cartoonist.

Into much of his creative work the Negro has poured the conflict and pain that comes from persecution. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois for years has cried against oppression. The deep bitterness of his prose often takes on almost poetic form. In "A Litany of Atlanta,"<sup>2</sup> composed after the race riots of 1906, he wrote:

A city lay in travail, God our Lord, and from her loins sprang twin Murder and Black Hate. Red was the midnight; clang, crack, and cry of death and fury filled the air and trembled underneath the stars when church spires pointed silently to Thee. And all this was to sate the greed of greedy men who hide behind the veil of vengeance! . . . Surely Thou too are not white, O Lord, a pale, bloodless, heartless thing?

Claude McKay, in his most famous poem, "If We Must Die,"<sup>3</sup> talks angrily of fighting back:

If we must die—let it not be like hogs  
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,  
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,  
Making their mock at our accursed lot. . . .  
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,  
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!

In the work of Countee Cullen beauty is colored by the pain of caste. He breaks off one poem to exclaim:

Yet do I marvel at this curious thing  
To make a poet black and bid him sing.

<sup>2</sup> From *Darkwater*, by W. E. B. DuBois, reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harcourt, Brace and Company.

<sup>3</sup> From *Harlem Shadows*, by Claude McKay, reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harcourt, Brace and Company.

In his powerful and poignant "Let America Be America Again" Langston Hughes sings:

Let America be America again.  
 Let it be the dream it used to be.  
 Let it be the pioneer on the plain  
 Seeking a home where he himself is free.

(America never was America to me.)

. . . . .

O let my land be a land where Liberty  
 Is crowned with no false patriotic wreath,  
 But opportunity is real, and life is free,  
 Equality is in the air we breathe.

(There's never been equality for me,  
 Nor freedom in this "homeland of the free.")

*Say, who are you that mumbles in the dark?  
 And who are you that draws your veil across the stars?*

I am the poor white, fooled and pushed apart,  
 I am the Negro bearing slavery's scars.  
 I am the red man driven from the land,  
 I am the immigrant clutching the hope I seek—  
 And finding only the same old stupid plan  
 Of dog eat dog, of mighty crush the weak.

I am the young man, full of strength and hope,  
 Tangled in that ancient endless chain  
 Of profit, power, gain, of grab the land!  
 Of grab the gold! Of grab the ways of satisfying need!  
 Of work the men! Of take the pay!  
 Of owning everything for one's own greed!

. . . . .

O, let America be America again—  
 The land that never has been yet—

And yet must be—the land where *every* man is free.  
 The land that's mine—the poor man's, Indian's,  
 Negro's, ME—  
 Who made America,  
 Whose sweat and blood, whose faith and pain,  
 Whose hand at the foundry, whose plow in the rain,  
 Must bring back our mighty dream again.

O, yes,  
 I say it plain,  
 America never was America to me,  
 And yet I swear this oath—  
 America will be!

Out of the rack and ruin of our gangster death,  
 The rape and rot of graft, and stealth, and lies,  
 We, the people, must redeem  
 The land, the mines, the plants, the rivers,  
 The mountains and the endless plain—  
 All, all the stretch of these great green states—  
 And make America again!

It is on the stage that the greatest recent triumphs have come. *The Emperor Jones*, *Blackbirds*, *Shuffle Along*, *Porgy*, *The Green Pastures*, *Mamba's Daughters*, *Native Son*, and *Cabin in the Sky* brought to the footlights and to the limelight of popular acclaim Richard B. Harrison, Charles Gilpin, Paul Robeson, Florence Mills, Josephine Baker, Ethel Waters, Canada Lee, Katherine Dunham, and a host of others. On the screen, though chiefly relegated to character parts, a few Negroes have been able to show their talents: Paul Robeson, Rex Ingram, Fredi Washington, Louise Beavers, Ben Carter, and Hattie McDaniel, who received an Academy award for her role in *One With the Wind*.

The Negro has given generously of his gifts to enrich the national culture. Both in the art of infusing the humblest living with zest and rhythm and in all forms of folk and fine arts, this race is a lively leaven in American life.

## DEMOCRACY MARCHES ON

WE IN AMERICA have been slowly groping our way toward liberalism and democracy. It has been a long hard trek. At the beginning, even in the New World, we had limited ideas about freedom. We held one great group of our people in slavery; many of the early settlements showed little regard for religious liberty; the rights of servants and of labor were subject to the privileges and power of the propertied class. But steadily we have extended the theory and the practice of liberty and opportunity.

During the three hundred years of colonial and national progress the American people have found that freedom is something that has to be fought for inch by inch, to be won through wise planning and brave action. Each advance is a struggle against greed and vested interest, an even harder struggle against ignorance and tradition.

The greatest weakness of our democracy is our treatment of Negroes. Our attitude toward this race is a threat to the whole theory and practice of democracy. So long as we degrade one segment of the people we set a pattern that may easily be moved to other groups. Consideration for the Negro rests not merely on humanity and charity; it rests on the solid base of enlightened selfishness. It is a question not only of the rights of the

Negroes themselves: it is a question of the total health and strength of the nation.

We cannot have an enlightened democracy with one great group living in ignorance. We cannot have a healthy nation with one tenth of the people ill nourished, sick, harboring germs of disease which recognize no color line, obey no Jim Crow laws. We cannot have a nation orderly and sound with one group so ground down and thwarted that it is almost forced into unsocial attitudes and crime. We cannot come to our full vigor in the arts unless we give scope to the talents of that race which has proved itself most creative in all forms of art and expression. We cannot be a truly Christian people so long as we flaunt the central teachings of Jesus: brotherly love and the Golden Rule. We cannot come to full prosperity with one great group so ill trained that it cannot work skillfully, so poor that it cannot buy goods.

Slowly Negroes have been given more freedom and wider opportunity. They have made the most of the new openings and have built a life fuller and happier for themselves and richer and stronger for the nation. The masses are still far below the average American standard in almost every phase. They are therefore still far from making their full contribution to American culture and prosperity.

It is not to be expected that old customs and traditional attitudes will quickly change. But it is to be expected that America will continue her steady march toward democracy. As we gird ourselves to defend democracy from foreign attack, let us see to it that increasingly at home we give fair play and free opportunity to all the people.



## BOOKS BY AND ABOUT NEGROES

THIS HANDBOOK is made up largely from the same materials as the author's *Brown America*, published by Viking Press, which is a standard general account of the new race.

A carefully selected bibliography of the 200 best books by and about Negroes, made up especially for school use, is published by the State Library Commission of Tennessee under the title *Books About Negroes* and is available free on application to that Commission, Nashville, Tennessee, or to the Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago.

The volumes listed here are only a brief sampling of books that may be of most general interest to persons who wish to read further about American Negroes.

### *General*

Johnson, Charles S. *A Preface to Racial Understanding*. New York: Friendship Press, 1936. 206 pages.

A brief account of the Negro in our contemporary society, and of the special problems which confront him.

Woodson, C. G. *The Negro in Our History*. 6th ed. rev. and enl. Washington, D. C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1927. 616 pages.

A concise history of the Negro in the United States, for use as a textbook in high schools and colleges.

Work, M. N. *Negro Year Book*. An Encyclopedia of the Negro. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Published periodically.

DuBois, W. E. B. *The Souls of Black Folk*; essays and sketches. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1931. 264 pages.

Cash, W. J. *The Mind of the South*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1941. 429 pages.

A well-written analysis of the South and its psychological, cultural, economic, and social history.

Wright, Richard. *12 Million Black Voices*. New York: Viking Press, 1941. 147 pages.

An epic poem, in prose, of the suffering and exploitation of a race, by a brilliant writer, enriched by excellent pictures.  
 Davis, Allison, and Dollard, John. *Children of Bondage*. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940. 294 pages.

A penetrating study of the effect of both color and class distinctions on eight different Negro adolescents in the deep South, written by a Negro anthropologist and a white psychologist.  
*Negro Caravan, The*. An anthology of writings by American Negroes, selected and edited by Sterling A. Brown, Arthur P. Davis, and Ulysses Lee. New York: The Dryden Press, 1941. 1060 pages.

### Fiction

#### By Negroes:

Bontemps, Arna. *Black Thunder*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936. 298 pages.

Fauset, J. R. *Chinaberry Tree*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1931. 341 pages.

Hughes, Langston. *Not Without Laughter*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1930. 324 pages.

Johnson, James Weldon. *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1927. 211 pages.

McKay, Claude. *Home to Harlem*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1928. 340 pages.

Turpin, Waters E. *These Low Grounds*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1937. 344 pages.

Wright, Richard. *Native Son*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1940. 359 pages.

#### By White Authors:

Heyward, DuBose. *Porgy*. Modern Library edition, 1934. 196 pages.

———. *Mamba's Daughters*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1929. 344 pages.

Life among the primitives of Charleston, portrayed with strength and sympathy. Both dramatized with great success.

Harris, Joel Chandler. *Uncle Remus and His Friends*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1914.

Classic folklore beautifully presented.

Peterkin, Julia. *Black April*. Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill Co., 1927. 315 pages.

Also other novels of Negro life by the same author. †

Van Vechten, Carl. *Nigger Heaven*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1926. 286 pages. †

Sophisticates and primitives jostling each other in Harlem cabarets. A best seller of an earlier era.

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1899. 500 pages.

The sentimental classic voicing the moral indignation of a moral age against a great human wrong.

### Biography

Washington, Booker T. *Up from Slavery*. Garden City, New York: Sun Dial Press, 1917. 330 pages.

An autobiography of the educator who was born in slavery and founded the great school for Negroes at Tuskegee.

Gorman, Herbert S. *The Incredible Marquis*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1929. 466 pages.

Alexandre Dumas, a romantic character not always thought of as a Negro.

Johnson, James Weldon. *Along This Way*. New York: Viking Press, 1933. 418 pages.

Brawley, Benjamin. *Negro Builders and Heroes*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. 315 pages.

Hughes, Langston. *The Big Sea*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1940. 335 pages.

DuBois, W. E. B. *Dusk of Dawn*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940. 334 pages.

Handy, W. C. *Father of the Blues*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1941. 304 pages.

### Poetry

Dunbar, Paul Laurence. *Complete Poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1926. 289 pages.

Bontemps, Arna. *Golden Slippers*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1941. 215 pages.

An excellent anthology selected especially for younger readers.

Brown, Sterling A. *Southern Road*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1932. 135 pages.

Cullen, Countee. *Color*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1925. 108 pages.

Also other books of verse by the same author, all published by Harper & Bros.

Hughes, Langston. *Weary Blues*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1926. 109 pages.

Also other books of verse by the same author, all published by Knopf.

Johnson, James Weldon. *God's Trombones*. New York: Viking Press, 1927. 56 pages.

The rhythmic majesty of rural Negro sermons, translated by a master of form.

- . *The Book of American Negro Poetry* (an anthology). Rev. ed. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1931. 300 pages.
- McKay, Claude. *Harlem Shadows*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1922. 95 pages.

### Art and Music

- Brawley, Benjamin. *The Negro Genius; a new appraisal of the achievements of the American Negro in literature and the fine arts*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1937. 366 pages.
- Johnson, James Weldon, and Johnson, J. Rosamond. *The Books of American Negro Spirituals*. New York: Viking Press, 1940. 376 pages.
- Work, John. *Folk Songs of the American Negro*. F. A. McKenzie, 1915. 131 pages.
- . *American Negro Songs*. Howell, Soskin & Co., 1940. 259 pages.
- Locke Alain. *Negro Art. Past and Present*. Washington, D.C.: Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1936. 122 pages.
- Still, William Grant. *Twelve Negro Spirituals*. New York: Handy Bros. Music Co., 1937. 61 pages.

### Drama

#### By Negroes:

- Locke, Alain, and Montgomery, Gregory. *Plays of Negro Life*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1927. 430 pages.
- Richardson, Willis. *Plays and Pageants from the Life of the Negro*. Washington, D. C.: Associated Publishers, Inc. 1930. 373 pages.

#### By White Dramatists:

- Green, Paul. *The Lonesome Road: Six Plays for the Negro Theatre*. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1926. 217 pages.
- O'Neill, Eugene. *Emperor Jones*. Student's ed New York: Appleton Century Co., 1934. 64 pages.
- Connelly, Marc. *The Green Pastures*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart 1930 173 pages.
- Torrence, Ridgely. *Granny Maumee, Rider of Dreams, and Simon, the Cyrenian*, three plays for the Negro theatre. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917. 111 pages.

### Juvenile

- Bontemps, Arna. *Sad-faced Boy*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1937. 119 pages.
- Evans, Eva Knox. *Araminta*. New York: G. F. Putnam's Sons, 1935. 84 pages.

- . *Key Corner*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938. 206 pages.
- Means, F. C. *Shuttered Windows*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938. 206 pages.
- Ovington, M. W. *Zeke*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1931. 205 pages.
- Sharpe, S. G. *Tobe*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939. 121 pages.
- Enright, Elizabeth. *Kintu, a Congo Adventure*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935. 54 pages.
- Lattimore, E. F. *Junior, a Colored Boy of Charleston*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1939. 129 pages.

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